

A Seventh-Century List of Jars from Edfu¹

P.CtYBR inv. 72

15.5 cm x 9.7 cm

619-629 or shortly later

Plates 5-6²

Edfu

This papyrus, whose margins are all preserved, was purchased in Egypt by H.I. Bell from Hamed Hamid in Edfu on 7.12.1926. The item was numbered "II 6" in Bell's distribution list of purchases for that year. Bell dated the text palaeographically to the sixth/seventh century A.D.; there is a distinct possibility (cf. Verso, 1n.) that the text can be dated more precisely, i.e. to the period A.D. 619-629 or shortly afterwards.

Evidently, we are dealing with an administrative list specifying the deliveries of various types of jars. The content of these jars is not indicated in the preserved part of the document, but the most obvious commodities that they might have held are wine, oil or plain water.

Recto

	ἦτα (καὶ) δοθ()	
	] Κολλούθου	
	]α	κόλ(οβα) ρξ
4	] . ωρα	κόλ(οβα)
	ἀπὸ κυρ(ίου)	]ερίου
	ἀπὸ κυρίου	] . ου
		κόλ(οβα) ρμ

¹ We are most grateful to our colleagues Dr. N. Gonis (Oxford), who directed our attention to this interesting document, and Dr. Rober Babcock (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University), who kindly gave us permission to publish this text.

² Images of this papyrus can be found at: <http://130.132.81.124/papyrimg/S4183882.JPG> and <http://130.132.81.124/papyrimg/S4183883.JPG>

- 8 ἀπὸ κυρ(ίου) στρατ]ηγίου κόεις μ(ε)γ(άλ-) ξ
 ἀπὸ κυρ(ίου)], ερίου ὁμοί(ως) (ὑπὲρ) Διο-
] κ[ό]λ(οβα) μ
 [ά]π[ό] κυρ(ίου) Λιβερίου ὀμφ(ακηραι) ξ
 ἀπὸ κυρ(ίου) Ἀριστίου κόεις μ(ε)γ(άλ-) γβ
 12 Χαρήσιος γωμτ() ιουλῆι μ(ε)γ(άλα) ζ
 Γεωργίου πραγμ(ατευτοῦ) πυρρ(ά) ζ.
 γί(ν.) (ὁμοῦ) κόλ(οβα) χμ (καί) κόεις μ(ε)γ(άλ-) ριβ
 (καί) ὀμφ(ακηραι) ξ (καί) μ(ε)γ(άλα) ζ (καί) πυρρ(ά) ζ.

	]-- and given	
	]of Kollouthos	
	]a	<i>koloba</i> 160
	]ora,	<i>koloba</i> 200
from lord	]erios,	<i>koloba</i> 100
from lord	]os,	<i>koloba</i> 140
from lord Strategius,		large <i>koeis</i> 60
from lord	]erios likewise on behalf of Dio-	
	]	<i>koloba</i> 40
from lord Liberios,		<i>omphakerai</i> 60
from lord Aristios,		large <i>koeis</i> 52
Charisios --		large (jars) 6
of Georgios, trader,		"red" jars 7
Total: <i>koloba</i> 640, large <i>koeis</i> 112		
<i>omphakerai</i> 60, large jars 6, "red" jars 7.		

3ff. For κολ() = κόλ(οβον), cf. N. Kruit - K.A. Worp, "Geographical Jar Names: Towards a Multi-Disciplinary Approach," *AFP* 46 (2000) 138 ff.; a resolution κόλ(αθον) is unlikely. Evidently the addition of 160 + 200 + 100 + 140 + 40 produces a total of 640 (χμ, cf. line 14).

6 At the start read perhaps]μου for] . . ου.

7 For the restoration cf. Verso, line 5, mentioning the same (?) Strategius. We see no link with the most famous Strategius mentioned in documents from the early seventh century; for the latter see B. Palme, "Die domus gloriosa des Flavius Strategius Pannephemos," *Chiron* 27 (1997) 95-125.

For the κόεις, jar attested to date only once in a Greek document, see Kruit - Worp, "Metrological Notes on Measures and Containers of Liquids," *AFP* 45 (1999) 104 on *SB* XVIII 13930.5, 7, 9, 13 (VI/VII A.D. = *P.Ross.Georg.* V 41.Frr. IV, V + *BGU* III 972), οἷ(νου) κόεις 400 ἀνὰ λὰκ 4 ἐκάστου κόεις (i.e. 4 λὰκ = 1 κόεις); for attestations in Coptic documents, see W.E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 120a; *O.Crum* 217 (pp. 27-8, n. 1); *CPR* IV 35 introd., XII 13.4n.; *O.Vind.Copt.* 359; *P.Mich.Copt.* III 3.7-8; *O.Medin.Habu* 62.5; *O.Bawit* 53. The precise size of the κόεις is unknown. Assuming that a single κνίδιον contains at least 3 ξέκτ., it follows that 1 λακοοτ holds ($4 \times 3 =$) 12 ξέκτ. ($= \pm 6.5$ l.). Assuming, furthermore, that 1 λακοοτ = 1 λακ, a κόεις would contain ($4 \times 12 =$) 48 ξέκτ. ($= \pm 26$ l.); jars containing 48-50 ξέκτ. are well known, cf. Kruit - Worp, *ibid.* 99. If, however, 1 λακ = 0.5 ξέκτ. (see K.A. Worp forthcoming in *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress of Coptologists* [Leiden 2000]), 1 κόεις would have 2 ξέκτ., i.e. smaller than the smallest Greek κνίδιον known to date; cf. Kruit - Worp, *AFP* 46 (2000) 104-10. Evidently, the addition of (κόεις μεγάλα) 60 + 52 produces a total of 112 (ρῖβ, cf. line 14)

10 (and Verso, 2): For a man called Liberius holding the office of pagarch in Apollonos Ano/Edfu ca. 650 A.D., see *P.Apoll.* 61.v.16 with note, and J. Gascou - K.A. Worp, "Problèmes de documentation apollinopolite," *ZPE* 49 (1982) 83-95, esp. 84; it is conceivable that we are dealing with the same person everywhere. For the date of the present text, cf. below, note to line 1, Verso.

For the use of κύριος, cf. H. Harrauer - B. Rom, "Ho kurios-Listen auf Papyrus," *Aegyptus* 63 (1983) 111-5.

10 and 15 We resolve ὀμφ() as ὀμφ(ακηραί) [for this term cf. the Appendix, below], while comparing *SB* XIV 12077.4, 5 (2x ὀμφ(ακηρά); cf. line 3, ὀμφακηρά), but we cannot exclude a resolution ὀμφ(αρά) serving as a spelling variant of ὀμφ(οράρια); cf. below

at *P.Vindob.Worp* 11.12. For the various forms of the term ἀμφοράριον in the papyri, cf.:

ἀμφολαρι[-: *SB* XX 14210.3 (VI A.D.).

ἀμφ(ολάριον): *P.Got.* 17.v.6 (VI/VII A.D.; cf. below sub ἀμφολάριον)).

ἀμφορ(άριον): *P.Mich.* XV 740.2, 20 (VI A.D.; the editor resolves the unique, hence unlikely form ἀμφορ(εὺς)).

ἀμφολάρ(ιον): *P.Got.* 17.r.17; 17.v.5, 11, 21 (VI/VII A.D.; see also under ἀμφ(ολάριον)).

ὀμφαλάριον: *P.Herm.* 23.7 (IV A.D.); *P.Vindob.Worp* 11.6 (VI A.D.); *P.Laur.* IV 184.7 (VII A.D.).

ὀμφαλάρ(ιον): *SB* XVIII 13762.23 (VI/VII A.D.).

ὀμφ(αράριον): *P.Vindob.Worp* 11.12 (VI A.D.; cf. the same papyrus, line 6: ὀμφαλάριον).

11 The name Ἀρίστιος has a classical ring and occurs more frequently in Ptolemaic papyri than in later times. We have not found a man Aristius in other documents from Edfu. W.C. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie* 62, mentions only the name Aristios from *O.CrumST* 61.3.

12 We have not found a man Χαρήσιος elsewhere in documents from Edfu; the name's regular spelling is Χαρίσιος.

γωμιτ(): perhaps an error for κόμιτ(ος)? We have no solution to offer for the word(s) preceding μ(ε)γ(άλα) ς.

12 and 15 For jars called μεγάλα cf. *P.Sarga*, p. 24 under # 14. The precise content of such jars is not known and one can only observe that apparently they are in this papyrus distinguished from κόεις μεγάλ- (cf. 7, 11, 14), the κόλοβα (cf. line 3n.), the ὀμφακηραί (cf. above, note to lines 10 and 15), and the πυρρά (cf. below, note to line 13), maybe also from πυρρά μεγάλα and κόλοβα μεγάλα (cf. below, Verso lines 2-4). Furthermore, the situation is even more complicated, because jar designations like ἀγγεῖα μεγάλα, διπλᾶ μεγάλα, κνίδια μεγάλα and λᾶη μεγάλα are also known. Perhaps these and similar jars are generally to be distinguished from ἀγγεῖα μικρά, διπλᾶ μικρά, κνίδια μικρά, κόεις μικρ-, λᾶη μικρά, and πυρρά μικρά, while the nature of their different quality is the same as of the dif-

ference between ἀπλοῦν / διπλοῦν, μονόχωρον / δίχωρον, etc. However, the question still remains as to what distinguishes a μέγα from, e.g., κόεις μέγα? To be sure, in documents one should distinguish between the abbreviations μ' = μ(έ)γ(α) and μαγ() = μαγ(αρικόν).

13 For the term πραγματευτής = "trader," see N. Gonis, "Some Πραγματευταί with False Identities," *ZPE* 132 (2000) 187-8; the resolution of the abbreviation is inspired by the fact that already before the beginning of the fifth century an official called πραγματικός no longer appears in our documents. The latest instance is πραγ[ατικοῦ] in *SPP* XX 88.12 from 337 A.D.

For πυρρόν(ον) = "red" jars, see our discussion of *BGU* II 549 = *SPP* VIII 897.6 in *AFP* 46 (2000) 107, n. 103. After we published this article, our colleague A. Boud'hors (Paris) kindly drew our attention to a publication by C. Heurtel³ of a Coptic ostrakon featuring the Coptic term ΤΑΡΩΕ and the Greek term πυρρόν next to each other. While noting earlier attestations of the ΤΑΡΩΕ in *O. Medin. Habu* Copt. 41 and *O. Crum* 475 (the term is not listed in *Crum's Coptic Dictionary*) Ms Heurtel states that "c'est l'héritier du vase 'rouge' de l'Égypte ancienne (SD DŠR)" and that "l'adjectif grec a été utilisé comme correspondante étymologique de ΤΑΡΩΕ alors qu'il ne semble pas avoir dans les textes documentaire grecs un sens équivalent à celui du mot Copte." To this observation we add a comment made by P. Ballet, *De la Méditerranée à l'Océan indien. L'Égypte et le commerce de longue distance à l'époque romaine: les données céramiques*. *TOPOI* 6.2 (1996) 809-40, esp. fn. 45: "Les amphores d'Edfou se subdivisent en deux groupes: un ensemble à pâte alluviale brune, comprenant une proportion assez importante de dégraissant végétal; un second à pâte alluviale brune, fine, et à engobe rouge rosé (our italics)."

³ In *Études Coptes* vol. V = *Cahiers de la bibliothèque Copte* 10 (Paris - Louvain 1998) 150.

Verso

While the text on this side of the papyrus and that on the recto have a similar character, it would go too far to contend that the text on this side forms a sequel to the text on the other side.

- † Λ(ό)γ(ος) Κοσμάς νοταρ(ίου) Ἀστραγατουρ
 ἀπὸ κυρ(ίου) Λιβερίου κόεις μ(ε)γ(άλ-) ιδ
 (καὶ) πυρρ(ά) μ(ε)γ(άλα) δ (καὶ) μικρ(ά) πυρρ(ά) ς
 4 (καὶ) κόλ(οβα) μ(ε)γ(άλα) δ
 ἀπὸ κυρ(ίου) Στρατηγίου κόεις μ(ε)γ(άλ-) ιβ
 α ὁμοί(ως) Κοσμάς νοταρ(ίου) κόλ(οβα) κζ
 β Κοσμάς ὁμοί(ως) κόλ(οβα) λ
 8 γ τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) ὁμοί(ως) κόλ(οβα) κ
 δ ὁμοί(ως) τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) κόλ(οβα) ι
 [γίν. (ὁμοῦ)]μ (καὶ) κόλ(οβα) μικρ(ά) πζ

1, 6, 7 Κοσμά

† Account of Kosmas, secretary of Astragatour (?); from lord Liberios, 14 large *koeis* and 4 large "red" jars and 6 small "red" jars and 4 large *koloba*; from lord Strategios, 12 large *koeis*; on the (?) 1st, likewise, of Kosmas secretary, 27 *koloba*; on the (?) 2nd, of Kosmas, likewise, 30 *koloba*; on the (?) 3rd, of the same, likewise, 20 *koloba*; on the (?) 4th, likewise, of the same, 10 *koloba*. [Makes together] 40 --- and 87 small *koloba*.

1 A word combination "Κοσμ- νοταρ-" (cf. lines 6ff.) occurs 7 times in the DDBDP.

La Ἀστραγατουρ (or Ἀστραζατουρ): we reckon ~~tht~~ the undeclined and unabbreviated form ἀστραγατουρ/ἀστραζατουρ may contain a Persian (Iranian) personal name, cf. the remarks by J. Gascou, "Notes de papyrologie byzantine (II)," *Cd'É* 59 (1984) 337-40, esp. 339 fn. 4 on names like "Asphatourios/Aspagourios" deriving from a

Persian background. If this approach is correct,⁴ one automatically obtains a date for this text, as it must have been written during the period of the Persian occupation of Egypt or not long afterwards. In itself it is not abnormal to find in the papyri people styled as "νοτάριος τοῦ δεῖνος," cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002.ii.15, III 67289.v.2; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1893.31.

2-5 An addition of the amounts "14 + 4 + 6 + 4 + 12" makes "40" (in line 10). Evidently all different jars from lines 2-5, i.e. κόεις μεγάλ-, πυρρά μεγάλα, μικρά πυρρά, and κόλλαθα μεγάλα, were counted together indiscriminately. In view of the restricted space available at the start of line 10, we cannot propose a complete restoration for the lacuna; maybe one should think of a generic term like κεράμια.

6-9 An addition of the amounts "27 + 30 + 20 + 10" makes "87" (in line 10). Evidently, the κόλλαθα from lines 6-9 were κόλλαθα μικρά.

One can only guess what the numerals α, β, γ, δ at the start of these lines refer to: days in a month, e.g., or deliveries (φορά)?

APPENDIX

ΑΜΦΟΚΕΡΑΙΟΙ:

AN ETYMOLOGICAL MISUNDERSTANDING

LSJ Revised Supplement (1996) contains on p. 25 the following entry: "ἄμφοκέραιος, ον, *two-handled*, *P.Oxy.* 1343 (VI A.D.; -κερῖα pap.; for ἄμφικ-)." No doubt, this entry derives from a similar entry in F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* I (1925) col. 73, "ἄμφοκέραιος, doppelgehenkelt, Ox

⁴ We consulted Prof. D. Weber (Göttingen) on this matter; he replied that in itself the name Ἀστραγατοῦρ/Ἀστράσατοῦρ definitely looks like an Iranian/Persian compound, that names ending in "-adur" (in Middle-Persian: "Fire") or in (Iranian) "-tour" look acceptable enough, but that it is difficult to find a convincing explanation for the first part of the name, "Astras(a)-"/"Astrag(a)-".

1343 [VI]: κοῦφα ἀμφοκέρυια (read: -κέρυια)." The edition of the papyrus itself presents only an entry "κοῦφα ἀμφοκερυια η," without accentuation for the word under review; it gives no commentary on the word's meaning or etymology and only contains in the word indices (p. 297) an entry "ἀμφοκέρυιος (?) 1343." It seems obvious that Preisigke was the first scholar to seek the origin of the compound in a combination of an element ἀμφί + an element κέραια.

In itself this might seem acceptable enough, if there were not the remarks on compounds in -κέρυια made by P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue grecque* II (Paris 1970), pp. 517-8 s.v. κέραια: "comme second terme apparaissent également des formes diverses: -κέρυια dans δίκεραια (Callix.) et dans les noms des plants: αἶγο-, βο-, ταυρο-, n. d'après la forme du fruit ---; la plupart des composés sont en -κερυια ---; il existe aussi quelques composés thématiques en -οι: p. -ἐ. μουνόκερος (Archil.), νήκερος, nom. pl. νήκεροι "sans cornes" (Hés. *Tr.* 529); on observera aussi les féminins καλλικέραν, ὑπικέραν (B.); les composés en -κερατος sont rares et relativement tardifs, p. ex.: ἀκέρατος (Pl., Arist.), Pl., *Plt.* 265 b c, emploie τῆς ἀκεράτου à côté de ἄκερων; ἀκέρωτος (AP 6, 258) est isolé, mais témoigne de l'extension de la finale -ωτος."

Though *LSJ* lists an adjective δίκεραιος, "two-horned, two-pointed," from AP 6, 111, Chantraine does not discuss its formation.⁵ The only other Greek adjective in -κέρυιος is ἀκέρυιος, but its meaning of "pure, unmixed" indicates that this adjective derives from the verb κεράννυμι and has nothing to do with κέραια.

So much is certain, therefore, that the number of compounds with a second element in -κέρυιος and connected with κέραια = "horn > handle" is remarkably small. For that reason one may look for an alternative approach for explaining a form ἀμφοκερυιος, purportedly written instead of an intended (but unattested) ἀμφικέραιος. Such an approach is easily available, if one reckons with three well-attested linguistic phenomena:

⁵ Our colleague Prof. Dr. C.J. Ruijgh who read an earlier version of this note kindly referred us to Pollux 1.91 where there is an entry "ἀκροκέρυια" (n. pl.), "ends of sail-yards," a substantive made from an adjective ἀκροκέρυιος; the substantive ἡ κεραία, "horn, sail-yard," obviously derives from κέραια.

a) interchange between the vowels α/ο, visible in particular in forms like ὀμφαλάριον for ὀμφαράριον/ἀμφοράριον; of course, one should also reckon with the reverse, i.e. ἀμφο- written for ὀμφα- (cf. below, *SB* XX 14625.24);

b) loss of difference of length between the vowels ε/η, for which see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* I, 242ff.; for an illustration of this phenomenon in the word under review, cf. below, at *P.Oxy.* XVI 1924.5, 11 and *SB* XX 14625.24.⁶

c) a vulgar spelling of the adjective as ending in -υιός instead of a regular -ιός, perhaps influenced by the pronunciation of Greek υῖός as "iós."

Hence, we would regard a spelling ἀμφοκέρυιός as a vulgar variant of an adjective ὀμφακήριος going with ἡ ὀμφακηρά "a rounded vessel, flaggon" (so *LSJ* Rev. Suppl. 228). As a container of sweet grape juice, garum and wine, this type of vessel occurs already in a number of papyri (listed here in chronological order without correcting the original spelling of ὀμφακηρά), viz. in:

<i>P.Abinn.</i> 31 (= <i>P.Lond.</i> II 239).13 (IV A.D.)	γλυκοιδίων ὀμφακηρά α.
<i>PSI</i> VII 829.9 (IV A.D.)	ὀμφακηρῶν δ.
<i>Tyche</i> 11 (1996) 231, ii.20ff. (IV A.D.)	ὀμφακερ() n, ὀμφ() n ⁷

↳ *SB*. 24. 16206

⁶ Prof. Ruijgh compares the development of classical Greek νηρόν > Modern Greek νερό.

⁷ The editor of this Vienna papyrus takes the view (cf. his remarks at p. 237) that the gender of ὀμφακη- in this text is neuter, because he reads the verb in line 21 as ἐκλάσθη. On Plate 8 in *Tyche* 11 one sees after ἐκλάσθη a small dot. Upon our request Prof. H. Harrauer checked the original papyrus for us and confirmed that this is not dirt or stray ink but deliberate writing. As we do not think that this is a form of interpunctuation, we take it as a kind of imperfect abbreviation marking, hence we read ἐκλάσθη(σαν). Hence we come to the conclusion that there is no need to regard the noun in the Vienna papyrus as a neuter variant of the fem. noun ὀμφακηρά, deriving from the adjective ὀμφακηρός. According to the electronic TLG, this feminine noun is found in Georgius Cedrenus, *Compend. Historiarum* I, p. 679.6, and Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, p. 235.28. Both describe a fire in the imperial palace in Constantinople which went ἕως τῆς (Theoph. adds "λεγομένης") Ὀμφακερῶς. In the passage cited by the editor of the Vienna papyrus from Aetius Amidenus, *Iatricorum* V 141.17, ἀγγεῖα ὀμφακίνα τὰ ὀμφακηρά καλούμενα, the adjective ὀμφακηρά takes the same neuter plural form

<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXIV 2729.20, 21 (late IV A.D.)	οίνου ὀμφακηραί.
<i>SB</i> XIV 12077.3-5 (IV-V A.D.)	ὀμφακηρά μία, ὀμφ(ακηρά) α.
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1870.13 (V A.D.)	οἴνου ὀμφακηρὰν μίαν.
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 2047.2 (V A.D.)	ὀμφακηρ(όν) προπώμ(ατος) α.
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1924.6, 12 (V/VI A.D.)	ὀμφοκεράς γάρου α; ὀμφωκεράς κούφ[η] α.
<i>SB</i> XX 14625,24 (V/VI A.D.)	ὀμφοκεράς β.
<i>P.Wash.Univ.</i> II 105.3 (VI/VII A.D.)	ὀμφοκ(ηράς) δ [evidently wine].

For the etymology of ὀμφακηρά as a "rounded container" (grape-shaped?), cf. *P.Abin.* 31.12n. (where one finds a citation from *LSJ* s.v. ὀμφακηρός, "for holding ὀμφακες" = grapes) and *P.Wash.Univ.* II 105.3n. In sum, in *P.Oxy.* X 1343 one seems to be dealing with eight κούφα-jars of the (grape-shaped) ὀμφακηρά-type. For κούφα see the discussion in *ZPE* 136 (2002) 142, note to line 2 of *P.NYU* II 22.

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Correction note:

A reedition of *P.Got.* 17 (see above, p. 50) will appear in a forthcoming volume of *Eranos*.

as the noun to which it belongs. The same applies to *ibid.*, 140.9, τὸ μέλι --- ἀναλάμβανε ὀστρακίνοις ἀγγείοις μάλιτα ὀμφακηροῖς.